

The American FEDERATIONIST

UNIVERSITY
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JUNE 1955
TWENTY CENTS

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10 PRESIDENTS WIELD TROWELS AT LAYING OF CORNERSTONE OF NEW HOUSE OF LABOR. STORY ON PAGE 8



"See you at the **UNION MEETING"**



A weak union can't win higher wages and improved conditions. A weak union is pushed around. So, in fairness to yourself and your fellow trade unionists, won't you do your part to help build your union? It isn't hard. Just take a genuine interest in union affairs. Study your union's problems. Bring new members into the fold. And attend union meetings regularly. This is the sensible way, the practical way, the right way to build your union—and it will pay off for you in satisfaction and in higher pay, better conditions, greater job security.

The American FEDERATIONIST

Official Monthly Magazine of the American Federation of Labor

JUNE, 1955

GEORGE MEANY, *Editor*

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Fight for Rights

"It is the common fate of the indolent to see their rights become prey to the active. The condition upon which God hath given liberty to man is eternal vigilance, which condition, if he break, servitude is at once the consequence of his crime and the punishment of his guilt."

Who said that? It was John Philpot Curran, in 1790. He was making a speech upon the right of election. If they did not erect a monument to Mr. Curran, they should have—because that was the most truthful thing that could ever be said, and it applies today as much as in 1790.

If anyone thinks that the question of liberty was disposed of, once and for all time, when the Declaration of Independence was signed in 1776, he should brush up on history. Especially should he examine labor history for the past seventy-five years.

When working people fought for their rights, they made gains. When they became "indolent," they were pushed back.

There always have been, there probably always will be those who are intent on imposing servitude and degradation on others. They will never play fair, honest or honorable. They must rule or ruin. They are the believers in the "master and slave" code of existence, and they invariably wreck and ruin if they are not firmly opposed. These are the "active"—and undoubtedly John Philpot Curran had all this in mind in 1790 when he voiced those immortal words: "It is the common fate of the indolent to see their rights become prey to the active."

We of labor are going to see our rights become "prey to the active" unless we put up an effective fight in every state and in the United States Congress.

J. B. Springer.

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EXECUTIVE COUNCIL ACTS

TENTATIVE approval was given last month by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to a proposed constitution to govern the merged labor movement. The Council acted after agreement on the basic document was reached by the A. F. of L.-C.I.O. Joint Unity Committee. Then the Council ordered a special convention of the American Federation of Labor, in Chicago on August 11, for the purpose of postponing the next regular convention from September 15 to December 1. [A story on the proposed constitution and plans for the first convention of the merged federation appears on Page 7.]

The Administration's proposed 90-cent-an-hour minimum wage "denies the nation's low-paid workers any real improvement in their living standards," the Executive Council declared in a new call on Congress to act promptly to increase the wage floor to \$1.25 an hour.

"The compelling need for an adequate minimum wage cannot be met by an increase to only 90 cents," the Council said. "Considering all the evidence, an increase to \$1.25 is urgently required to allow low-wage workers to catch up with gains already made by other workers and to achieve at least a half-decent standard of living."

Congress has the choice of catering to the views of the National Association of Manufacturers, which wants repeal of the Fair Labor Standards Act, the Council said, or heeding "the deeply felt desire and need of the American people for a fundamental revision of the law."

Congress must show the world that "even those at the bottom of the economic ladder can share the fruits of American progress," the leaders of the American Federation of Labor asserted.

The Council noted that prospects for passage of an adequate bill are "good" in the Senate but that consideration in the House has been delayed.

"Responsible Congressional leaders should see to it that this vital legislation is given the green light and en-



Busy meeting of the Council was presided over by George Meany. At left is Secretary Schnitzler. Session was in Washington

acted promptly," the Council declared.

Besides an increase in the minimum wage, the most-needed changes in the law are broader coverage, extension to large-scale retail and service establishments and removal of special exemptions, the Council said.

Congress should give special attention, the Executive Council said, to raising the minimum wage level in Puerto Rico and to considering the A. F. of L.'s proposal for a standard thirty-five-hour workweek.

The Executive Council announced unanimous approval of a code of ethics governing the operations of union health and welfare funds.

A. F. of L. President George Meany told reporters that the standards agreed upon were based upon proposals made by the A. F. of L. last February. Affiliated unions, representing 78.4 per cent of the membership, replied regarding the recommendations, seven being noncommittal, thirty-nine endorsing the principles as outlined and twelve stating general approval and noting that they have similar standards already in operation.

"The program points out to internationals what we think they should do to protect the interests of their members," said Mr. Meany.

"We expect our unions to adhere to these standards. This is a notice to them that loose practices in the handling of health and welfare funds are condemned by A. F. of L. policy and procedure."

The program adopted by the Council proposes state and federal legislation, as well as trade union action.

[The text of the statement begins on Page 4 of this issue.]

J. Scott Milne, president of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, was named as fifteenth vice-president of the American Federation of Labor at the Executive Council session. The vacancy was created by the death of Daniel W. Tracy, president emeritus of the I.B.E.W.

Mr. Milne has served in every official capacity with the I.B.E.W. He became president a year ago when Mr. Tracy resigned. He joined Local 125 in Portland, Oregon, in 1918, later becoming business manager and financial secretary of the local. In 1929 he was international representative, in 1936 vice-president of the Ninth District and in 1947 international secretary.

The new vice-president of the American Federation of Labor has been active in behalf of the labor

press for many years. He is the president of the International Labor Press of America.

The Executive Council held that any attempt to bring back the expelled International Longshoremen's Association through absorption by the International Brotherhood of Teamsters would be in violation of the A. F. of L.'s constitution. Vice-President Dave Beck, who heads the Teamsters, informed the Council that his organization would not take any action contrary to the Federation's constitution or rules.

This was the disposition of a case begun when Mr. Beck formally requested that the Teamsters be given jurisdiction over longshore work. He explained to the Council that teamsters work in close conjunction with longshoremen on the docks and that it was important for the International Brotherhood of Teamsters to maintain a clear line of communication over freight movement.

It was pointed out by members of the Council that the A. F. of L. already has chartered an international union in the dock field—the International Brotherhood of Longshoremen—and that its jurisdiction could not be handed over to any other organization.

On the absorption of the Fur Workers by the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, the Executive Council deferred decision until its next meeting. The Amalgamated had been told several months ago that it should not take in the fur union, which was ousted from the C.I.O. because of Communist domination.

Pat Gorman, secretary-treasurer of the Meat Cutters, appeared before the Council and reported that his organization has made considerable progress in eliminating Communist leadership from local fur units.

A. F. of L. President Meany, at a news conference, said:

"We neither approved nor disapproved. We're going to take another good look at it at our next meeting. Meanwhile, the matter will be held in abeyance."

First awards from the William Green Memorial Fund were announced by the Council. A grant of \$100,000 was made to Ohio State University to finance annual scholarships. A grant of \$12,000 was made to the late A. F. of L. leader's home church, the First Baptist Church, at



J. Scott Milne (left), president of the Electrical Workers, was welcomed by President Meany upon election as a Council member

Coshocton, Ohio. This sum will be used for a memorial window and other work.

William F. Schnitzler, secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, reported that a total of more than \$700,000 has been collected for the William Green Memorial Fund and additional contributions from affiliated unions are coming in. The Executive Council expects to make annual awards until the fund is exhausted.

The scholarship grant to Ohio State University was worked out by the university and the Ohio State Federation of Labor. The fund will operate on a permanent basis and annual scholarships will be awarded from an expected \$6000 annual increment on the invested capital. Two scholarships will be awarded annually by a university committee to undergraduates in the sum of \$300 each per annum for the four-year arts course. Two additional one-year graduate scholarships of \$1800 each will be awarded annually for study of labor relations, economics and related subjects.

A number of additional grants will be made each year in

order to enable students to attend trade union forums conducted by the university and the Ohio State Federation of Labor.

The Council's meeting was held at the American Federation of Labor Building in Washington. The next Council meeting will be in August.



Vice-President George Harrison read the official magazine during recess

For the Safeguarding of Health and Welfare Funds

TEXT OF CODE OF ETHICS GOVERNING THE OPERATION OF HEALTH AND WELFARE FUNDS WHICH WAS APPROVED UNANIMOUSLY BY EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE A. F. OF L.

IN the development of plans through the process of collective bargaining designed to provide some measure of protection to the health and welfare of millions of wage-earners and their families, the labor movement is fulfilling its historic role. Being denied by government the comprehensive health insurance protection for the people of the nation which the American Federation of Labor has supported for many years, labor unions have secured for their members the best protection available.

At its recent convention in Los Angeles, the American Federation of Labor strongly reaffirmed its position in favor of a system of national health insurance. The convention also recommended to affiliates the advantages of prepayment plans which provide comprehensive direct medical services and which emphasize preventive care, pointing out that, in addition to their other advantages, such programs are not subject to most of the abuses that have been found in some cash indemnity plans offered by commercial insurance carriers. The convention further declared that:

"It is incumbent upon every organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to take every step that may be available to it to clean up any such situations that may exist within its province, to take appropriate action against any official guilty of abuses, and to establish a system of standards, methods and procedures in the administration and policing of health and welfare programs that will prevent the recurrence of such abuses."

In the control and operation of health and welfare plans of whatever type, the best interests of the members must be the governing considera-

tion. The private interests of others concerned with these plans—whether union officials, employers, insurance carriers and agents, public officials, doctors or others—must not be permitted to stand in the way of any steps that may be required to protect the rights of beneficiaries. Such steps should be designed not only to prevent corrupt or unethical practices, but to assure that the financial resources of these plans are employed in such a way as to be of the greatest practical value to those for whose benefit they are established and to preserve the protection these plans provide for millions of working people.

A. Action by National and International Unions

The American Federation of Labor has no authority to direct the internal affairs of its affiliated organizations. It is, however, the responsibility of each affiliated national or international union to protect the interests of its membership in this field in the manner best suited to the particular problems and practices in its trade or industry. The recommendations which follow are designed to aid affiliates in the discharge of their responsibility. Where constitutional amendments or changes in internal administrative procedure are necessary to provide this protection, such amendments and changes should be undertaken at the earliest practicable time. They should be designed to provide national and international unions with the means and the authority to audit funds and apply remedies where there is evidence of a violation of standards, based upon the following principles:

(1) Where a salaried union official serves as employee representative

or trustee in the administration of a welfare program, such service should be regarded as one of the functions expected to be performed by a union official in the normal course of his duties and not as an "extra" function requiring further compensation, over and above his salary, from the welfare fund. Officials who already receive full-time pay from their union should be expressly prohibited from receiving fees or salaries from a welfare fund.

(2) Union officials or employees who exercise responsibility or influence in the administration of welfare programs or the placement of insurance contracts should be entirely free of any compromising ties, direct or indirect, with outside agencies—such as insurance carriers, brokers, consultants and others—doing business with the welfare fund. Such ties cannot be reconciled with the duty of union officials to be guided solely by the best interests of the membership in any transactions with such agencies. At best, they involve a conflict of interests. At worst, they introduce corruption, profiteering and graft at the expense, directly or indirectly, of the membership. Express provision should be made for the removal of any union official found to be involved in such ties to his own personal advantage, or to have accepted inducements, benefits or favors of any kind from such outside agencies.

This provision is not to be construed as preventing the maintenance by a union officer or employee of an outside relationship, provided (a) no substantial personal advantage is derived from the relationship, and (b) the concern or enterprise is one in the management of which the union participates for the benefit of its members.

(3) Where any trustee—whether employer, employee or neutral—or employee of a health and welfare fund is found to have received an improper payment, the union should insist upon his removal and appropriate legal action against both the party receiving and the party making the payment. In addition, if the insurance carrier or agent is involved, action against the carrier or agent should be pressed before the state insurance authorities, with a view to the cancellation of the carrier's or agent's right to do business in the state.

(4) Complete records of the financial operations of welfare funds should be maintained in accordance with the best accepted accounting practice, with regular audits by certified public accountants of unquestioned professional integrity, at least once a year and preferably semi-annually. All audit reports should be available to the membership of the union.

(5) A full annual report on welfare fund operations should be furnished on request to individual members. Included in the report should be a detailed statement of receipts and expenses; all salaries and fees paid by the fund, to whom and in what amount such sums were paid, and for what service or purpose; a breakdown of insurance premium payments, if a commercial insurance carrier is involved, showing the amount of retentions, claims paid, dividends, commissions and service charges and to whom the carrier paid such commissions and charges; a financial statement on the part of the insuring or service agency if any agency other than a commercial insurance carrier is employed; and a detailed account of the manner in which the reserves held by the fund are invested.

(6) Prior to the initial establishment of the plan, the relative advantages of all of the alternative available methods of providing health and welfare benefits should be fully explored, including self-insurance and the use of programs providing fully prepaid direct medical services where they exist or can be set up within the community, as well as the use of commercial insurance carriers. The objective should be to reduce operating

expenses and non-benefit costs to the minimum consistent with the safety and security of the program, and to make available to the members the maximum in terms of actual prepaid health services (as distinguished from cash payments covering an unpredictable portion of actual medical bills) obtainable within the limits of the revenue of the fund.

(7) Where a local fund selects a commercial insurance carrier, competitive bids should be solicited from a substantial number of reliable carriers, and the successful bidder selected, after thorough investigation, on a basis most favorable to the in-

paid, directly or indirectly, to any individual (other than his own employees or agents), organization, fund, official, trustee or employee in connection with the acquisition of the business of the fund.

(8) Complete records of claims experience should be kept so that a constant check can be maintained on the relationship between claims and premiums and dividends, and on the utilization of the various benefits. In the case of medical benefits, records and statistics should also be kept showing the extent to which cash benefits paid out are sufficient to cover, or fail to cover, the costs and charges actually incurred by the members when they avail themselves of medical services.

(9) The investment of welfare fund reserves in the business of any contributing employer, insurance carrier or agency doing business with the fund, or in any enterprise in which any trustee, officer or employee of the fund has a personal financial interest of so substantial a nature as to be affected by the fund's investment or disinvestment, should be prohibited.

This is not to be construed as preventing investment in an enterprise in which a union official is engaged by virtue of his office, provided (a) no substantial personal advantage is derived from the relationship, and (b) the concern or enterprise is one in the management of which the union participates for the benefit of its members.

(10) The provisions of the plan governing eligibility for benefits should be designed to include, as nearly as practicable, all workers on whose wages any substantial contribution has been paid, whether such contribution was withheld from their wages or made on their behalf by their employers. Waiting periods for eligibility should not be of such a length as to discriminate unfairly against some portions of the membership to the benefit for others.

(11) Every program should incorporate an adequate appeals procedure as a check against the arbitrary or unjust denial of claims, so as to afford the individual member a fair hearing and a sufficient opportunity to obtain redress where he feels his



In 1954, Vice-President Dubinsky had discussed problem in this magazine

terests of the membership—with particular emphasis upon comparative retention rates, financial responsibility, facilities for and promptness in servicing claims, and past experience of the carrier, including the record of the carrier in dealing with trade unions representing its employees.

The trustees of the fund should be required to state in writing and to report to the membership the specific reasons for the selection of the carrier finally chosen. As a consideration for getting the right to do business with the fund, the carrier should also be required to warrant that no fee or other remuneration has been

claim for benefits has been improperly rejected.

(12) It should be emphasized that the duty of policing and enforcing these standards is shared by every union member, as well as by local, national and international officials. Efficiency in the administration of health and welfare funds should not be purchased at the price of union democracy. The best and the only ultimate safeguard of local autonomy and democracy lies in the hands of a vigilant, informed and active membership, jealous of their rights and interests in the operation of health and welfare programs, as well as any other trade union program. As a fundamental part of any approach to the problem of policing health and welfare funds, affiliated unions, through education, publicity and discussion programs, should endeavor to encourage and develop the widest possible degree of active and informed interest in all phases of these programs on the part of the membership at large.

B. Legislative Action

1. Federal

In order to qualify for tax deductions, every employer who contributes to or maintains a health and welfare plan should be required to file, each year, with the Bureau of Internal Revenue, a statement of the amounts contributed to or expended upon such a plan. If the employer maintains the plan on a self-insured basis, the statement should be accompanied by a detailed financial statement covering the operations, expenses and investments involved in the program. If the plan is insured by the employer with a private carrier, the statement should be accompanied by a report from the carrier on the employer's account containing a breakdown of premiums and retentions and showing the amount of dividends or rate credits paid or due, claims experience, the amount of commissions and service charges, and to whom those commissions and charges were paid.

If the employer makes his contributions to a trust fund, the statement filed by the employer should clearly identify the name, trustees and address of the fund. It would then be the duty of the trustees of the fund to file, with the Bureau of Internal

Revenue, an annual financial report, disclosing in detail the operations, transactions, expenses and investments of the fund.

All statements and reports required to be filed, under this recommendation, should be made readily available to the employer, union members directly concerned, authorized government agencies and state insurance officials.

2. State

(a) State insurance laws should be amended so that, in cases where an agent or broker is not employed and no such services are rendered, the requirement that commissions must nevertheless be paid to an agent or retained by the insurance carrier is eliminated.

(b) Where the services of agents or brokers are employed, the payment of excessive commissions and service charges should be banned. A code of standards governing commissions and charges should be adopted and enforced by state insurance commissions.

(c) State regulatory bodies governing insurance operations should be made more representative of the public and consumer interest. At present, state insurance commissions and departments tend to reflect and to be dominated by the special interests of the insurance industry.

(d) State insurance commissions and departments should assume and exercise a greater degree of responsibility for the integrity, competence and character of agents and brokers who are licensed by the state. At the present time such a license is virtually meaningless and offers no

assurance to the public that a person having a license is reliable or subject to any really effective checks, surveillance or standards. As a minimum step, as a requirement for securing and holding a license, the records and accounts of agents and brokers should be subject to regular and thorough inspections, and they should be required to file regular reports with state insurance commissions disclosing and identifying every fee and commission received in connection with a group policy, issued as a part of a health and welfare plan, and the nature and purpose of expenditures made in the course of their business operations. The charging of excessive fees, commissions or expenses and the making of unethical or improper payments to secure or to hold an account should result in the prompt revocation of the license to operate.

(e) Laws which, in a number of states, now stand in the way of the development of consumer-sponsored, non-profit, medical service prepayment plans should be repealed, so as to make constructive alternatives to limited cash indemnity insurance plans more generally available to trade union and other consumer groups.

(f) Laws which, in a number of states, prohibit employers from withholding any part of wages earned by an employee (except taxes), without written authorization, should be amended so as to exempt from such prohibitions deductions made for health and welfare plans developed through collective bargaining by employers and bona fide trade unions.



Vice-President Hutcheson reaches for a copy being handed to him by Secretary Schnitzler. Middle man is Vice-President Doherty



Unity Committee, in Washington meeting, reached agreement on basic law for merged federation

Constitution Wins Approval

AGREEMENT has been reached by the A. F. of L.-C.I.O. Joint Unity Committee on a proposed constitution to govern the merged labor federation. And the draft has been tentatively approved by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. and the Executive Board of the C.I.O.

After a three-hour meeting of the Joint Unity Committee at the Mayflower Hotel in the nation's capital, A. F. of L. President George Meany and C.I.O. President Walter P. Reuther, in a joint statement, hailed the proposed constitution as "an amalgam of the best of the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. constitutions."

"This new constitution carries out implicitly the language and spirit of the merger agreement which our Joint Unity Committee signed February 9," the statement said. "It recognizes the equal status of the craft and industrial unions. It offers a closed-door policy to unions controlled or directed by Communists or other totalitarians. It promotes democratic unionism. It recognizes that all workers, whatever their race, color, creed or national origin, are entitled to share fully in the benefits of trade unionism. It provides effective remedies for keeping the new organization free of both corruption and totalitarianism, and for quick and effective penalties against unions which fail to measure up to the high ethical and moral standards which the public has a right to expect of our affiliated organizations."

The two leaders proclaimed it "a measure of the spirit of unity" that the new constitution was worked out so quickly.

Final approval of the constitution and the actual amalgamation of the American Federation of Labor and

the Congress of Industrial Organizations will be voted upon by delegates from affiliated unions at separate A. F. of L. and C.I.O. conventions to be held December 1 and 2 in New York City. After these meetings the delegates will meet jointly in the first constitutional convention of the merged federation. This convention will open December 5 in the Seventy-first Regiment Armory, New York City.

Agreement has not yet been reached on the name of the merged federation.



Looking over the draft with George Meany are, from left to right, James Carey, J. Albert Woll, William F. Schnitzler and Walter Reuther



This picture was taken when the President of the United States arrived for the ceremonies. Shown with him, at the left, are A. F. of L. Vice-President Harrison and President Meany. On the other side of President Eisenhower, from left to right, are Secretary of Labor Mitchell, A. F. of L. Secretary Schnitzler and A. F. of L. Vice-President Bates

Presidents Lay Cornerstone of U.S. Labor's New Home



TWO PRESIDENTS—President Dwight D. Eisenhower of the United States and President George Meany of the American Federation of Labor—joined in laying the cornerstone of the new American Federation of Labor headquarters building at impressive ceremonies on Saturday, April 30. After addresses which were heard by the more than 2,000 persons present and a nationwide radio audience, President Meany and President Eisenhower placed trowels of mortar under the cornerstone, which was then lowered into position. The new building, located on Sixteenth Street in the nation's capital, just across Lafayette Park from the White House, is expected to be completed in the final month of 1955—in time to be occupied by the merged A. F. of L. and C.I.O.

A. F. of L. Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler presided. The invocation was given by Dr. C. Leslie Glenn, pastor of St. John's Episcopal Church, located next to the

President Eisenhower was given a friendly welcome by the Federation's head

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JUNE



Dr. Glenn of St. John's Church gave the invocation. At left is William L. McFetridge, member of the A. F. of L. Executive Council



Under Leon Brusiloff's baton, a Federation of Musicians band played

new structure. Leaders of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations were present. The program opened with the playing of "God Bless America" and closed with "The Star-Spangled Banner." The American Federation of Musicians band was under the direction of Leon Brusiloff.

President Eisenhower, in his address, said:

"I certainly appreciate what the la-

bor movement has done for the men and women of America."

The Chief Executive also said that the A. F. of L., "soon to become greater by its junction with another great organization, will by that measure have still greater responsibilities in carrying out the kind of pledges that have been made by your leaders of the past, and I am sure are earnestly followed by them at this point."

President Meany, who was the first



A. F. of L. Secretary Schnitzler presided



In this section were seated the department heads and employees of the Federation



George Meany pledged that America's workers will do their full part to preserve peace and freedom

'I am proud to be here,' President Eisenhower said



to speak, said that the new headquarters structure will be "symbolic of the tremendous progress won by the workers of this country in the past three-quarters of a century." American labor's new home, he declared, will be "a building where the trade union movement will carry on its endeavors for even greater advances by American wage-earners in the years to come."

The A. F. of L.'s leader pointed out that, while the trade union movement has for its basic purpose the winning for the worker of "a fair share of the wealth he helps to produce," this is "by no means" the only purpose of the movement.



Mr. Meany reveals skill in using a trowel, a tool of a trade other than his own

Chief Executive picks up a nice batch of mortar. Note copper box. It was placed inside the stone



"Beyond immediate bread-and-butter objectives," Mr. Meany said, "it seeks in a broader sphere to make democracy work here in America, to promote economic, social and political policies that will assure freedom and prosperity for all Americans, and to support international policies that will preserve peace without appeasement of the evil forces that threaten the decency and morality of civilization."

President Meany quoted the pledge made by Samuel Gompers to President Woodrow Wilson on July 4, 1916, on the occasion of the dedication of the present headquarters. Then Mr. Meany said that he was repeating that pledge, and he added:

"In the present struggle against the aggressive forces of communism,

Historic task of laying the cornerstone is now nearing its conclusion





'Congratulations!'
Cornerstone is in
position and the
job has been done

nism, the workers of America will stand up and do their full part to preserve world peace and the free way of life—the only way of life which offers to them the opportunity to strive for a better day to come, for themselves and all humanity."

Mr. Meany welcomed the presence of representatives of the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

"It is expected," he said, "that this building will be completed and ready for occupancy next December. By that time we hope that the process of merging the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. will

also have been completed and that we will be able to enter our new home together, united and stronger than ever before in history."

Members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and their wives had seats of honor, as did David McDonald, president of the C.I.O. United Steelworkers of America, and James B. Carey, secretary of the C.I.O. Walter P. Reuther, president of the C.I.O., sent a telegram of congratulations.

President Eisenhower used a gold trowel and President Meany used a silver trowel.

And so was history made.

**Front-row seat
was occupied by
John Frey, who
long ago toiled
in the movement
with Sam Gompers**

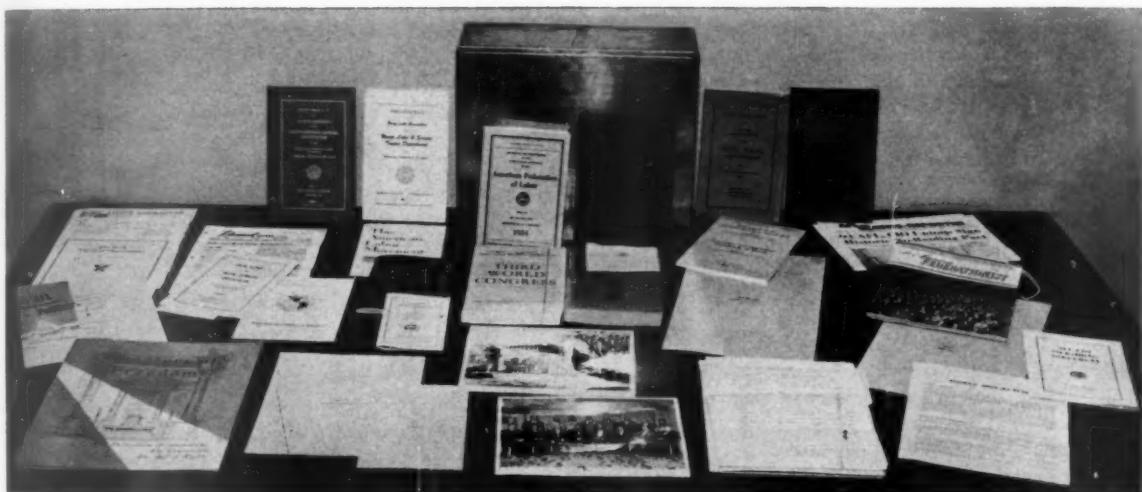




After cornerstone was put in position, Secretary Carey of C.I.O. was snapped with A. F. of L. Secretary Schnitzler



Aware that they had seen a bit of history were New York State Federation President Tom Murray and his secretary, Agnes Cashal



What Went Into Copper Box Sealed Inside Cornerstone?

PLACED inside the cornerstone on April 30, 1955, was a copper box. This box was a gift of the Sheet Metal Workers International Association. It is scarcely necessary to point out that the box carried the union label.

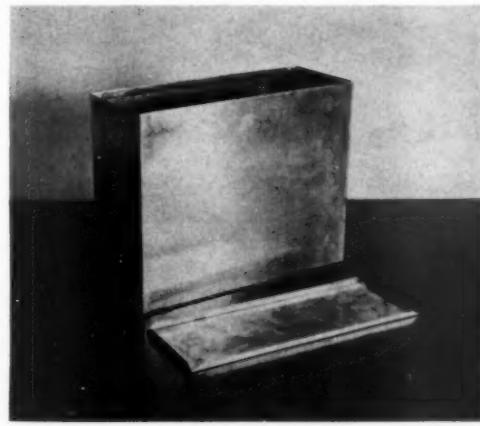
During the weeks preceding the cornerstone-laying ceremonies, more than thirty items were assembled—items which were deemed appropriate for placement within the cornerstone of the structure which will be the new home of the American labor movement.

Above is a photograph of the material which went into the cornerstone and at the right is a picture of the copper container. A copy of the proceedings of the 1954 convention of the American Federation of Labor and copies of the proceedings and reports of the A. F. of L.'s early conventions, 1881 to 1888, are now resting in the cornerstone. Other items include the proceedings

of the third world congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, personal statements by members of the A. F. of L. Executive Council and copies of THE AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST and the AFL News-Reporter.

The A. F. of L.-C.I.O. no-raiding agreement and the A. F. of L.-C.I.O. merger agreement, a sketch of the new American Federation of Labor headquarters and a photograph of the 1955 Executive Council, a copy of "Charters of Freedom" and copies of the Norris-LaGuardia and Clayton Acts—all these are also now reposing within the cornerstone.

There are still other items in the cornerstone collection. These include copies of



the proceedings of the 1954 conventions of the several Departments of the A. F. of L. and material pertaining to labor organization, research and education. Labor's League for Political Education, the International Labor Organization and the ORIT also provided material of historic value which was packed into the copper box.

President Meany's Remarks

MMR. PRESIDENT, distinguished guests, fellow trade unionists, ladies and gentlemen:

This is a happy as well as an historic occasion. We meet here this morning to lay the cornerstone for a new house of labor—a building symbolic of the tremendous progress won by the workers of this country in the past three-quarters of a century, a building where the trade union movement will carry on its endeavors for even greater advances by American wage-earners in the years to come.

In a very real sense, the foundations for this building are not steel and stone and concrete but the far more enduring philosophy of free trade unionism. That philosophy dedicates our movement to human freedom and human betterment.

Basically, the purpose of the trade union movement is to obtain for the worker a fair share of the wealth he helps to produce. But that is by no means the sole purpose of the movement.

Beyond immediate bread-and-butter objectives, it seeks in a broader sphere to make democracy work here in America, to promote economic, social and political policies that will assure freedom and prosperity for all Americans, and to support international policies that will preserve peace without appeasement of the evil forces that threaten the decency and morality of civilization.

In that connection, there is an interesting parallel. When the present headquarters of the American Federation of Labor was dedicated on July 4, 1916, the late President Woodrow Wilson participated. And on that occasion Samuel Gompers, the first president of the A. F. of L., said:

"Let us do all that we can to help the man at the head of the affairs of our country, the President of the United States, to see to it that we are kept out of actual war with any nation. Be true to yourselves, true to each other, true to the organized labor movement, true to the institutions and the flag of our country, which we shall uphold at all times and against all obstacles, no matter from which quarter they may come."

Mr. President, in behalf of all the millions of free trade unionists in

America, I repeat that pledge today. In the present struggle against the aggressive forces of communism, the workers of America will stand up and do their full part to preserve world peace and the free way of life—the only way of life which offers them the opportunity to strive for a better day to come, for themselves and all humanity.

There is another significant aspect to this occasion. We wish to extend a hearty welcome to the representatives of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, who are participating with us in this ceremony. It is expected that this building will be completed and ready for occupancy in December. By that time we hope that the process of merging the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. will also have been completed and that we will be able to enter our new home together, united and stronger than ever before in history.

There are those who profess to see vague dangers in a strong and united labor movement. It would be easier

to set their fears at rest if they would explain what kind of imaginary dragon is haunting them. But let me say this: The effectiveness of organized labor can be measured not only by what it has done for the workers but what it has done for the nation as a whole. Our whole purpose in labor unity is to become a more effective force for good in the life of our country. The only ones who need fear that are those who have a different purpose.

Labor has come a long way in America since the American Federation of Labor was founded seventy-four years ago, when men and women labored under conditions of virtual peonage, sixty hours a week, for twenty cents or less an hour. We still have a long way to go. But the obstacles that confront us in the industrial and legislative fields, serious as they are, are not nearly as severe as those which the founders of our movement met and overcame.

Considering the progress made by Samuel Gompers and his fellow pioneers despite all handicaps, we should be inspired to move ahead with renewed vigor and devotion in this splendid new home.

The Eisenhower Address

ITAKE IT as right neighborly that you, President Meany, and your associates should ask me to come across from the other side of Lafayette Square, where I have a temporary leasehold, to visit you on this historic occasion at the place which we hope will be your permanent home for many, many years to come.

I came for a number of reasons, among which are an opportunity again to salute that great and vast army of Americans who, with their hands, produce our material wealth; to return friendly calls that have been made to my office by leaders of the labor movement, and, likewise, because I read this in the letter of President Meany asking me to be here:

"We have constantly observed the principle of placing our responsibilities as American citizens above our obligations and duties as members of labor unions."

So far as I am concerned, that is the philosophy that should guide the American of every calling, no matter

what it is, to place the long-term good of America—all America—above any immediate and selfish reason. And in that spirit I salute this group of leaders and every single individual that belongs to the labor movement and, indeed, in all labor in America.

President Meany in his address adverted to the previous occasion of the laying of a cornerstone for the American Federation of Labor, and he spoke of President Wilson being there. President Wilson said, among other things, on that occasion:

"If you come at me with your fists doubled up, you will find that I will double mine no less swiftly than you do yours. But if you come to me in the spirit of friendliness and negotiation, you will find that I will say, 'Come, let us sit down together and there, I assure you, we shall find that our differences are far more imaginary than real.'"

Now again I believe that on that occasion Mr. Wilson spoke something that all Americans should well heed,

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because we shall never be rid of strife in this world, international and in some degree among ourselves, so long as humans are human and the millennium has not arrived. But the character of men and the character of nations will be determined by the method in which they meet to solve their differences. If we acknowledge that we honestly disagree, then let us meet in what we like to term "a Christian spirit" and reach an answer that is for the good of all.

It seems to me that Mr. Wilson spoke something that was worthy then of the great man who was your president, Samuel Gompers—worthy of the entire movement that we call the American labor movement.

For myself, I should like to tell you again I am no stranger to work. Mr. Meany referred to a terrible sixty-hour week, and I reminded him several times that when I finally was fortunate enough to enter the Army my workweek just before that was eighty-four hours and it was fifty-two weeks a year.

I certainly can appreciate what the labor movement has done for the men and women of America, what we must continue to do to make certain that this growing and advancing prosper-



The President said he is aware of the movement's contributions

ity is widely shared so that all may participate in it.

Finally, President Meany made a pledge, and he used the words of Samuel Gompers in a great pledge to President Wilson. In return, I can say only this:

So far as the Almighty will give to this Administration and to me personally the ability to discern the proper paths, we shall do nothing but devote our efforts to try to lead this world, this nation of ours, toward enduring peace, toward a better prosper-

ity, equal justice for all here at home.

Now, in conclusion, may I say I am not only pleased, I am very proud, that this great assembly—this great association—soon to become greater by its junction with another great organization—will by that measure have still greater responsibilities in carrying out the kind of pledges that have been made by your leaders of the past, and I am sure are earnestly followed by them at this point.

I am proud to be here and to participate in this ceremony.

SEE THE UNION INDUSTRIES SHOW

WORLD'S GREATEST LABOR-MANAGEMENT EXPOSITION



Buffalo is the scene of the 1955 edition of the Union Industries Show, sponsored by the Union Label and Service Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor. The great spectacle will get under way May 19 and will continue through May 24. You and your family will be thrilled and delighted with the scores of

interesting exhibits, the music, the color and the excitement.

Last year's show, held in Los Angeles, was a smashing success. This year's show will be a very good one, too. You owe it to yourself to see the 1955 Union Industries Show. Plan to attend. Bring the whole family with you.

Buffalo Is the Place! Be Sure to Come!

Editorials

By GEORGE MEANY

The New Constitution

WITHOUT DEPARTING from the traditional principles on which the American Federation of Labor was founded, the new constitution drafted by the Joint A. F. of L.-C.I.O. Unity Committee for the merged labor movement is a modern charter for effective, democratic and progressive trade unionism. Voluntarism remains the keystone of the organized labor movement. No compulsion can be exercised by the merged federation against any of its affiliated unions. But there are important innovations in the new constitution which has been tentatively approved by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

For one thing, the long-outdated preamble to the A. F. of L. constitution, referring to a class struggle between capital and labor, is discarded in favor of a clear-cut dedication of the labor movement to the workers of this country and to the free society in which we hope to gain future progress through collective bargaining and the exercise of our rights and obligations as citizens.

Other important changes are contained in Article II, which is a statement of the broad objects and principles of the merged federation. While none of those listed is actually new, since they have always been either explicitly or implicitly included in the A. F. of L.'s philosophy, it is important to have them thus spelled out in greater clarity and detail.

For example, Section 4 of Article II declares we shall "encourage all workers without regard to race, creed, color or national origin to share in the full benefits of union organization." That has always been one of the A. F. of L.'s basic aims, but it deserves to be part of labor's basic law.

Section 7 likewise gives constitutional status to one of our cherished objectives—"to give constructive aid in promoting the cause of peace and

freedom in the world and to aid, assist and cooperate with free and democratic labor movements throughout the world."

Also, in Section 10, we enunciate our moral and democratic principles by pledging "to protect the labor movement from any and all corrupt influences and from the undermining efforts of Communist agencies and all others who are opposed to the basic principles of our democracy and free and democratic trade unionism."

There are a number of other new provisions with regard to the no-raiding agreements, the implementation of various sections and the administrative setup of the merged federation.

All of these should be read carefully by the representatives of affiliated unions. The proposed constitution, it should be remembered, is still a fluid document, subject to change and improvement until its final adoption in identical form by the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. conventions next December. Nor will it become rigid even after the merger is effected, since any subsequent convention can effect amendments by the usual two-thirds vote.

As it stands, however, the proposed constitution is a document of which the men and women of labor can be proud.

Welfare Fund Code

THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL of the American Federation of Labor took an important step forward when it adopted by unanimous vote at the May meeting a code for the guidance of national and international unions in regard to health and welfare funds.

The approved program calls for federal and state legislation, as well as trade union action, to protect the interests of members in the funds established for their benefit.

In essence, the whole purpose of the code is to see to it that health and welfare funds are administered for the benefit of the workers covered and for no one else. It unequivocally condemns loose and corrupt practices through which such funds have sometimes been diverted to improper channels.

The American Federation of Labor regards health and welfare funds as a sacred trust. The Executive Council has made it clear that it will not countenance or condone violations of that trust, whether they be committed by employers, insurance companies, insurance agents or by trade union officials.

The 'Right to Work' Hoax

By MARX LEWIS

Secretary, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers

THE sponsors of the "right to work" laws claim to speak in the name of the workers who, they say, prefer not to join unions. But the truth is that the workers want union-security provisions in their contracts.

During the Congressional debates on Taft-Hartley, the authors of the act claimed that millions of workers were "herded" into unions by union "bosses" under closed shop agreements and that, if given a chance to vote in a secret ballot as to whether they wanted to remain in the union, they would vote to get out.

At their insistence, a provision was inserted in the Taft-Hartley Law requiring an election in which the workers would vote by secret ballot as to whether they wanted the union shop or not. Considerably less than 10 per cent voted against the union shop in these secret elections. The votes were so overwhelmingly in favor of union security that the sponsors of the Taft-Hartley Law—a little sheepish and red-faced—themselves proposed that this requirement be eliminated from the act, and it was.

That is not to say that there are no people who would rather not join a union. We know there are such. But, as the union shop elections proved, these workers constitute a tiny minority. Most workers have lived long enough to know that, by and large, people—all people—get what they pay for, and that what comes cheaply or free of charge is not worth having. They know that the organizations which protect and defend them, and fight to improve their economic conditions, need resources, and that the larger the resources the greater will be the protection and the improvements.

In any event, it is certain that it is not for this tiny minority that the outfit spearheading the drive for "right to work" laws are fighting. Nor are they fighting for freedom and against compulsion.

Their purpose is to weaken the labor movement. In years gone by, they tried to do that by methods more direct and more drastic. That was when they maintained arsenals with ammunition which they used to maim and kill strikers. That was when they maintained huge espionage systems and employed Pinkerton agencies to detect union people and blacklist them so that they could never find jobs in their own industries again.

These employer groups were successful at the time. They had the support of government agencies, the police and the courts. When ammunition failed to accomplish their purpose, they could find courts to hand out injunctions.

All this changed when President Roosevelt launched the New Deal and Senator Wagner got his bill through to protect workers desiring to form unions. Millions of workers, held back from unions for years, the victims of merciless exploitation, flocked into unions. For years the labor movement grew.

The 1946 Congressional elections gave labor's enemies a chance to reverse the process. With control of Congress in their hands, they passed the Taft-Hartley Act, one of the many vicious provisions of which gives to states the power to outlaw the union shop. With the aid of a National Labor Relations Board packed against labor, many of the procedures adopted under a friendly administration to safeguard the workers' rights have been set aside, and anti-union employ-

ers given powers which have virtually stopped the growth of the labor movement.

The eighteen states which have already enacted "right to work" laws are doing so at the behest of the same forces which secured the enactment of the Taft-Hartley Act. They are attracting industries controlled by employers who want to thrive on substandard wages and operate under non-union conditions.

Hundreds of thousands of workers in New England and in other parts of the country are thus left stranded. Those who remain at work have this low wage competition to contend with. In some places they have already had to take wage cuts or face the loss of their jobs either through lack of work or as the consequence of the removal of the plants in which they are employed.

That is what is actually involved in the highfalutin "right to work" legislation for which labor's enemies are fighting. Up to now they have had smooth sailing because they operated in states where the labor movement is weak. But now they are running into difficulties. Highly industrialized states will not succumb to this pressure.

The situation could be corrected easily and speedily. All that has to be done is eliminate from the Taft-Hartley Act the provision which permits such state legislation. But here we encounter the hostility of the Eisenhower Administration, which has encouraged those who clamor for "right to work" laws. Until the Administration takes concrete steps to eliminate that provision, it will continue to be regarded as no better than those who want to weaken and destroy the labor movement.

The Musician's Fight

By JAMES C. PETRILLO
President, American Federation of Musicians

TO THE man in the street, canned music means a catchy tune from a phonograph or jukebox, a brand-new number offered by a radio disc jockey or background music on television. To my ears, as president of the American Federation of Musicians, and to those of 252,000 member musicians, canned music means trouble—and it has meant trouble ever since Thomas Edison invented the phonograph. For canned music, whether on recording or tape, when it's used commercially proves a destructive force to the professional musician. It takes his job.

Nowhere else in this mechanical age does the workman create the machine which destroys him, but that's what happens to the musician when he plays for a recording. The ice-man didn't create the refrigerator and the coachman didn't build the automobile. But the musician plays his music into the recorder and a short time later the radio station manager comes around and says, "Sorry, Joe, we've got all your stuff on records, so we don't need you any more." And Joe's out of a job.

That's what's been happening all over this country.

In 1944 there were no more musicians making a living from music than there were back after the First World War, although the population of our country has grown some fifty millions. It's true we have more members. The union has grown from around 100,000 to some 252,000. But fewer than 100,000 can say that they are permanently employed in their profession.

The union has grown in spite of its inability to insure economic security for a majority of its members. Love for music and the desire to have a part in its survival have caused musicians to seek strength in numbers, based on the hope that collectively we may find some solution to our problems.

When I was a kid in Chicago, there was music everywhere. There were street bands, orchestras in beer



MR. PETRILLO

gardens and restaurants, concerts on Sundays, music at picnics, weddings and funerals. I used to get a nickel for carrying the front end of a drum in the parade.

I grew up to love music and when I was eight years old I got my first instrument. A lovely lady named Jane Addams at Chicago's famous Hull House gave me a cornet—we had no trumpets in those days—and I learned to play it the hard way, by heart and by head. That was my introduction to the music business. One day Jane Addams came to me personally and asked me to learn "The Rosary" for a special concert and I practiced like mad for two months.

The day came and I think I'm all ready for it because I know it by heart. She brings in fifty friends from the school and I play with a couple of guys behind me on the fiddle and cello. In the middle I stopped to get a breath, but when I started again I lost everything but the blue notes. My mistake was to stop. Then she came up to me and told me what a wonderful trumpet player I'd make. The difference between her saying it was good and

not bad is the fact that I'm in the American Federation of Labor today. Otherwise I'd have been out of the music business.

The kids of today have very little chance to hear music unless it's on the radio, phonograph or jukebox. They play a wind instrument in the school band and when they get out find no opportunity to play because there are no jobs. It might be different if they played a string instrument, but school bands have rapidly displaced school orchestras. There's more glamour marching around the football field behind strutting majorettes than there is playing a sonata in the school orchestra. And so strings have suffered. That's why so many of our local unions get requests from small symphonies which can't find good string players any more. Who's going to practice four hours every day when you can't even make a living from it?

I've outlined a few of the problems facing the union musician, but in order that our plight may be more fully understood and the steps we are taking to save the musician may get more support, I'd better start at the beginning and present the musician's story. It's important to explain how successive crises of the last twenty-five years have forced us to make bold decisions and to fight some hard and tough battles to preserve our Federation and the very foundations of the professional musician's world.

The American Federation of Musicians of the United States and Canada was formed October 19, 1896, in Indianapolis. It became a member of the American Federation of Labor one year later. It was the result of the banding together of groups of Musicians' Clubs from various cities. Twenty-five locals that totaled 6,000 members formed one union to resist being exploited in an employment field dominated by small and often irresponsible employers.

The Federation prospered until the development of the amplification tube

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and the microphone in the early 1920s. But since 1929, when the introduction of the sound track caused many thousands of theater musicians to be thrown out of work, technological employment in the forms of recordings, electrical transcriptions, jukeboxes and wired music have created havoc with employment.

Our chief problem today, as for the past twenty-five years, continues to be the growth of these mechanical means of reproducing on tape, or records, or on film, the music which the live musician creates. It's the main threat to our livelihood.

BACK in 1940 when I became president of the international union the members had already recognized the threat of canned music and had voted the machinery to do something about it. It needed only someone to carry on the fight. The next year the convention unanimously instructed our International Executive Board to take action against mechanized music. In June, 1942, the Board informed all recording and transcription companies that, effective August 1, musicians would stop recording. After all, there was no law that said a musician had to fiddle if he didn't want to.

Right away the industry chose me for its whipping boy. I was cussed and discussed, cartooned by about every paper in the country, blasted editorially, called Caesar because that's my middle name, accused of being a czar and of stopping progress.

That was a silly charge. No man or organization can stop progress because progress is a part of our free enterprise system.

We knew what we wanted and we stuck to it until we got it. Early in the battle we had established the principle which later both industry and our union agreed upon. Briefly, we felt that a musician's single performance should not be repeated over and over again commercially without continuing payment to the musician displaced by the recording, even if it was only a token payment.

We felt that those who exploited the machine had a social duty to the workers who were exploited by the machine. We proposed that this responsibility should be discharged by setting up a form of royalty fund based on the sales of records and

transcriptions. It was a new principle in labor-management relations, and our union was the first to propose it. It has a familiar ring today when practically every union is feeling the effects of the electronic age which they call "automation" and are trying to find the solution to it. It may be automation now, but to the musicians it's still canned music.

That's why the industry people objected so strongly at first. They used the same arguments you hear today. They couldn't oppose the cost because the small fee stipulated in the negotiations didn't increase the cost of a single record. There were two features they objected to. They refused at first to contribute to a fund to be spent at "the union's uncontrolled discretion" and they rejected the "dangerous fallacy" that a "specific industry owes a special obligation to persons not wholly employed by it."

But the American Federation of Musicians stood firm, and in the fall of 1943 all but two companies accepted the A. F. of M. conditions. We signed contracts and went to work. The other two companies came in a short time later.

It didn't come easy. We were accused of being unpatriotic in wartime while we were furnishing millions of dollars of free live music for

bond sales, recruiting drives and for V-discs which were being sent all over the world to our armed services.

Operating as the Recording and Transcription Fund, as it was called then, we were able to accomplish three things. We provided a sizable public service, we demonstrated to hundreds of thousands of music lovers that live music is the best in music and, finally, we were able to distribute \$1,000,000 a year to musicians whose earnings were hard hit by canned music. All this was done at an administrative expense of less than 1 per cent. We provided band concerts, music in public hospitals and institutions and public concerts whereby the unemployed musician was paid for his efforts and the public heard this music at no charge. We became the largest single purchasers of music in the country.

But the industry didn't give up easily. Our Fund survived three unfriendly Congressional investigations. Right in the middle of all this, President Roosevelt summoned me to Washington. When I got down there, the taxi driver let me off at the wrong gate and the guards refused to believe I was Petrillo or that the President wanted to see me. They held me about an hour before I was rescued, and when I finally got to see the President, I had forgotten my speech.



While live music still exists, mechanical devices have created havoc



Not so very many years ago, there were jobs for musicians in thousands of theaters across the land

But I didn't need any speech. He made me feel right at home and asked if our union would help out with the wartime effort. At that point I would have done anything, so I said "yes" before I even knew what he wanted. He asked us to supply symphony orchestras to make a tour of the country and to bring music to the people. He knew the value of music to help people bear their wartime burdens, and we gladly did it for him. He was a great man and a great President.

We had a celebration in Washington a few years later when we gave President Truman his gold card as a full-fledged member of the Musicians' Union. He earned that one. He won a battle when everyone said he was licked. He was in the same boat as the musicians. But I'm already ahead of my story.

In three years of operation the Recording and Transcription Fund furnished \$4,500,000 in free public music, given by nearly 700 A. F. of M. locals in more than 32,500 separate performances. Our agreement with the industry remained in force until December 31, 1947, when its renewal was obstructed by the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act, which ruled that a union could not administer its own welfare fund. In June, 1947, the A. F. of M. convention unanimously voted a second recording ban which remained in effect from January 1 until December 15, 1948.

On that date we signed up again, setting up the Music Performance Trust Fund, administered by the recording industry with a single trustee. The agreement was declared legal by the Department of Justice and assured continuation of free public music. A similar contract was negotiated March 16, 1951, with the major networks whereby the trust fund receives a percentage of the

gross revenues from TV film soundtracks and tape recordings. Last year these contracts were renewed with the industry for a five-year period.

This Fund makes work and provides the finest in free community musical entertainment. In 1954 it spent some \$2,350,000 in the public welfare for 16,997 public performances in which nearly 189,000 musicians took part.

Thus a plan which started out as a means to force employment for exploited musicians has been directed into channels of continuing public service, bringing praise from the forty-eight states and Canada, from governmental agencies, from the armed forces and national welfare groups everywhere as tokens of widespread public appreciation. Neither I nor the members of our union believe this formula is the complete answer to job losses by musicians resulting from canned music. But it does make the machine compensate in some degree for the job it displaces. And it's interesting to note that the International Labor Organization at Geneva, Switzerland, is studying the so-called "Petrillo Plan" as part of its world research into the continuing right of employees to payment for work done.

MANY people ask me what I think is the complete solution to the musician's problem in this era of canned music and automation. I do not profess to have the answer to this tragic problem. I wish I did. I only know that the musician must not go the way of the iceman. The iceman was replaced by the mechanical refrigerator, but those who reproduce music mechanically forget that it requires a live musician to create what they have to sell. When the musician is gone there won't be any

music. The machine cannot create. It can only reproduce. Sadly enough, it's the musician who is playing at his own funeral.

People speak of public support of music. Today such support can be traced to three sources. One is the generosity of wealthy people whose ranks are being thinned by death and taxes. Another is through the efforts of public-spirited communities. The third is by the American Federation of Musicians through the free public music fund created in cooperation with the recording and transcription industry.

This is not enough. It cannot be disputed that if the public does not awaken to its responsibility to maintain the best in live music, the sources that nourish and develop great music will eventually shrink and disappear. Then we'll all be slaves to the continuous artificial sounds of the record or tape.

Our classical musician is the hardest hit of all. Our great symphonies scratch along from year to year, never out of debt and paying players who have studied for years about the same wage as a plumber's helper, and even that for only twenty-six weeks a year. This is the type of music from which all of our creative expression is derived. It is in serious danger of degenerating unless we get some help from somewhere.

Our country is the only democratic nation in the world which has failed to set up some form of subsidy for our arts. This point was brought out recently by Rudolph Bing, manager of the Metropolitan Opera, in a speech before the National Press Club in Washington. He informed us that there are fifty opera companies in Germany and only two or three in this country. He urged that we form a dozen operas in as many cities to take care of a reservoir of talent much

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greater than anywhere in Europe. He came right out and said that all opera must be subsidized in some fashion, pointing out that Covent Garden in London gets an annual government subsidy of \$700,000 while La Scala in Milan and the West Berlin Opera receive state subsidies amounting to approximately \$1,000,000 a year.

Classical music is a TV orphan to us, according to Howard Taubman, music critic of the *New York Times*. He reports that in Britain, Sir John Barbirolli will conduct his Halle Orchestra in bi-weekly concerts on video. The only symphony we have on the airwaves in this country is the Chicago Symphony, here in a country where we have fifty times as much TV as they have in England.

I know "subsidy" is not a pretty word in our language. But subsidies are not new in our nation. Subsidies are granted right along to support our standards of living in agriculture, education, hospitals and shipping, just to mention a few. We don't ask it for the musicians alone. We join with all others in the fields of arts and letters in urging such a program for our country.

President Roosevelt and President Truman both were sympathetic to our needs. But wartime was no time to go off on rescue missions in behalf of music and the arts. We do feel that now is the time for a Presidential planning commission to lay the groundwork for the formation of a Federal Department of the Arts at cabinet level. Several bills are before Congress asking for a Fine Arts Commission to foster the cultural interests of our nation in order that we may have a heritage to hand down to future generations. After all, the only evidence our present generation has of the past is contained in the music, sculpture, architecture and history of the previous civilizations.

On two occasions I have talked with President Eisenhower about the problems of the present-day musician. On my second trip to the White House, just recently, I learned that Mrs. Eisenhower plays the organ. I asked the President if it was so and he said yes. So I told him she should become a member of the union.

"Oh," he said, "she isn't good enough for that."

Then I told him if he had heard me play that trumpet with Harry Truman

last summer at our Milwaukee convention, he wouldn't have thought I was good enough either.

We laughed about that, but he was very much impressed when I discussed with him my plan for the establishment of a United Nations Symphony. Especially when I told him there was one important thing about music—it speaks a universal language.

It is the hope of every musician that with the impact of automation being realized by so many people in our country, there will be some method worked out whereby some benefit will come to those being displaced by the machine.

Merger of the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. will exert a powerful force in bringing about some sort of control of this trend toward rule by the machine.

One of the major tasks to be accomplished is to get rid of the vicious provisions of the Taft-Hartley Law. Employers haven't begun to use the full powers contained in the law. If we have a depression in this country and all its rulings are invoked, the weak unions will go and the strong unions will be weakened.

Under the Taft-Hartley Act you can't even talk to your members without going into the courtroom if the employer wants to go after you. As long as the employer is making money he won't use the law, but the minute he starts losing money and he puts that bill into action where the union man has got to live up to its working, there'll be trouble with the industries and labor unions. If the labor unions ever go down in this country, it'll be a sad day for democracy and a sad day for the whole U.S.A.

Unless the labor union sets the wages and conditions, even the guy who doesn't belong to the union won't know what he should get. It's the union man who sets the standards and stabilizes the conditions of work for everyone, because if the union worker gets \$15, then the guy who doesn't belong to the union says, "You should at least pay me \$14."

If Congress were smart, its members would say, "Get rid of all the labor laws and let the unions and employers go to it." The reason I say that is because I think there is more understanding between people today. I preach to my own organization that strikes are no good, but of

course the weapon is there if you want to use it. There are many good, honest, strong labor leaders who will stand up and fight with their membership not to strike. They know what can happen under Taft-Hartley.

I believe there are many good employers in this country who will acknowledge that unions have come to stay. But there are many politicians serving the cause of special interests who are putting roadblocks in the paths of unions. They say the Taft-Hartley Act hasn't caused unions to suffer because membership is growing. Sure, unions are growing—because the population is growing. Yet the American Federation of Musicians, with its membership of 252,000 instrumentalists in the U.S. and Canada, has less work than it had when there were only 100,000 members. They've got us so tied down with labor laws that we can't tell an employer how many men he needs in his orchestra. They call that "featherbedding."

It's the same way when one of our Senators or Congressmen runs a rally in his community. He calls for an Army band or a Navy band and takes the livelihood away from the professional musician. And the minute I raise my voice—just another cartoon. "The Czar Stops the Army." We're not trying to stop anybody. All we're doing is to try to keep people from taking jobs away from our people.

LOOKING at the labor horizon at the present time, I think unity of the great labor federations will work out all right and the musician will benefit by it. My belief is so because of a great labor leader by the name of



JOIN L.I.P.E. TODAY

George Meany, president of the American Federation of Labor—a fine man, an honest man and a hard-working man, who has brought this plan about. And I've talked to Walter Reuther, president of the C.I.O., a man for whom I have a lot of respect.

Between the two of these great men I am satisfied this plan will de-

velop into one huge labor movement.

Union men on all sides are inquiring as to labor's position in the political scene following the merger. To those I talk with I say that, more and more every day, government moves into unions and business. That means that today, more than ever before, unions are being forced into politics.

And it brings to my mind the famous saying of a famous labor leader, Samuel Gompers, first president of the American Federation of Labor. He said:

"Don't tie up with any party, but go out and help your friends and defeat your enemies."

That's good enough for me.

*If you're tired of laws that injure you
and lack of action on beneficial measures,
dig into your pocket and give to Labor's League*

Better Protect Yourself

By JAMES L. McDEVITT
Director, Labor's League for Political Education

RECENTLY the Tax Foundation reported that only 3.8 per cent of the federal budget allotted for economic or social objectives for the fiscal year beginning next July 1 will be spent on governmental functions having to do with working people. They include such things as grants to states for the unemployment compensation program, day-to-day operations of the U.S. Department of Labor, the National Labor Relations Board, the apprentice training program and other governmental functions.

You may rest assured that the Tax Foundation accounted for every penny possible inasmuch as its directors include some of the biggest and most conservative businessmen and financiers in the nation. The natural tendency of the Tax Foundation would be to show that the labor field will receive more than its fair share of the tax dollar.

Even this small percentage consists overwhelmingly of administrative costs of broad programs. Very little actually winds up in the pocket of working men and women, contrary to what reactionaries and the commercial press would have the people believe.

In contrast, the federal government,



MR. McDEVITT

under President Eisenhower's budget, will spend almost three times as much for such aids to business and industry as airports, waterways, the Patent Office and direct disbursements to exporters and importers.

What can you do about it? And how can you take out insurance against such man-made catastrophes as inadequate housing, poor schools for your children, low wages, a weakened Army, insufficient jobless insurance and joblessness itself?

Well, just as you buy insurance against such disasters as accidents, fires and floods, you can buy insur-

ance against calamities originating in capitals, courthouses and city halls.

You can buy this insurance by voluntarily contributing one dollar—or more, if you wish—to Labor's League for Political Education, which is now conducting its 1955 fund-raising drive.

Look at it this way: On that contribution ride the decisions the nation's lawmakers shall make about many hundreds of thousands—perhaps many millions—of lives and tens of billions of dollars.

On that contribution also ride their votes on fair labor laws, better social security, higher unemployment insurance, full employment at good wages, decent hours, tax relief for working people, strong national defense.

Or you can look at it this way: When a candidate says he is for organized labor, his opponent is assured of a huge campaign war chest.

Former Senator William Benton of Connecticut recently told the students at Harvard Law School of corporation officials who "reimburse themselves, in one way or another, from their companies for their campaign gifts."

Seven families filed reports showing that they spent \$320,775 during the 1952 Presidential and Congres-

sional campaigns. They were the Rockefellers (\$94,000), the DuPonts (\$74,175), the Pews (\$64,100), the Mellons (\$36,500), the Weirs (\$21,000), the Vanderbilts (\$16,000) and the Fricks (\$15,000).

And not a single, solitary nickel of these sums was spent for a single, solitary liberal.

These seven rich families spent more money in 1952 than did Labor's League for Political Education, which spent a total of \$249,257.

Two years before that, according to sworn testimony before the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections, the campaign in Ohio to reelect Senator Taft, the father of Taft-Hartley, cost \$1,907,509. That was well over three times the \$573,103 which Labor's League collected that year for political campaigning in all the forty-eight states.

H. R. Cullen, the rich Texas oilman, spent \$750,000 in the 1952 political campaign, according to an estimate of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*. Needless to say, he pumped this money exclusively into the treasuries of reactionaries.

In contrast, Labor's League spent less than that for both 1952 and 1954 in trying to elect liberal, forward-looking, progressive candidates. In 1952 the League spent \$249,257. In 1954 it spent \$485,081. (Labor's League was able to spend more in 1954 than in 1952 because the off-year voluntary contribution drives, such as the one being held this year, were initiated in 1953.)

WHEN one man can spend more money in one year to elect reactionaries than an organization representing 10,000,000 men and women can spend in two years to elect liberals, some measure of the task of trade unions and other public-spirited groups in fighting reaction can be gauged.

Remember: More good Senators and Congressmen are needed. They, in turn, need money to pay campaign expenses.

Now of course we do not—and cannot—aim at spending as much money as Big Business. But organized labor should raise enough funds to help every one of its friends. Those funds

mean—and have meant in the past—the difference between victory and defeat.

The only place candidates supported by labor can get campaign funds is from voluntary contributions trade unionists make to groups like Labor's League for Political Education.

For your dollar, you receive your L.L.P.E. membership card. The dollars and card stubs for your union's membership are sent to the national headquarters of Labor's League in Washington, D. C.

Every dollar collected is reported monthly to the respective international unions and State Leagues. A complete report is filed with Congress, as required by law.

Fifty cents of every dollar you give goes back in cash automatically to your State League. The other fifty cents is kept separate in a national reserve fund for use in the most critical Congressional campaigns.

So look upon Labor's League—the political arm of the American Federation of Labor—as your political insurance company.

And take out a policy today.

EDWARD P. MORGAN SPEAKING

The Problem of Security

ONE of the curses of the cold war is the question of security—the safety of the nation against treachery from within. It is like a blob of mercury; try to get your hands on it and it slips right through your fingers, yet tiny globules of it rub off on everything like little silver beads of sweat.

There is no use turning our backs on the problem and pretending it doesn't exist. It will exist as long as the crafty minds of some men are capable of conspiring, and unless human nature and the forces that play upon it change radically, this is apt to be for a fairly long time. But in facing the problem, we might try to remember that life itself is a series of risks, that there is no such thing as total security unless maybe it is under a tombstone.

Yet a lot of responsible people, inside and outside government, seem to be convinced that the best way to deal effectively with a security risk is to bury the suspect in a long black box or isolate him far from society in a kind of leper colony. The trouble with this approach is that fragments



MR. MORGAN

of the liberties of other, innocent individuals are invariably buried or quarantined along with them. Pretty soon freedom is living in a cemetery and the real subversives are laughing a hideous, ghostlike laugh because that is the way they conspired it.

It has been said over and over again that the federal security risk program is breeding insecurity, but the leading lawmakers and spokesmen

of both parties seem to be insensible to that fact or too timid to say so with conviction.

You and I, the average citizens, may have felt comfortably remote from this issue. Oh, sure, some innocent fellow probably got hurt, but he was just one of those striped-pants guys in the State Department (screwy bunch anyway), or the victim had a suspicious, foreign-sounding name; can't be too careful these days, you know.

Maybe we will take a less calloused look at the problem if we realize that it may be our turn next. In a special issue of *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* on the subject of secrecy, security and loyalty, Professor Ralph S. Brown, Jr., of the Yale Law School, estimates that 12,600,000 persons are exposed to some existing loyalty or security test. Only a little more than half of these are in the government or the military.

It would be ironic if even before 1984 we discovered our well-meaning efforts were only making democracy safe for totalitarianism.



Delegates heard A. F. of L. Secretary Schnitzler (left) and Costa Rica's President Figueres (above)

Free Labor of the Americas

Meeting in Costa Rica

By SERAFINO ROMUALDI
A. F. of L. Representative for Latin America

THE third convention of the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (ORIT)—the Western Hemisphere branch of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions—was held in San Jose, Costa Rica, a few weeks ago. By unanimous consent, this was the best ORIT convention, reflecting not only the maturity of the organization but also a high degree of cooperation and understanding between the delegations representing Latin American countries and those from the United States and Canada. The two groups worked in complete agreement on every major issue, thus effectively contributing to the success of the meeting.

The American Federation of Labor was represented by Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler, assisted by International Representative George P. Delaney, President Sam P. Ming of the American Federation of Grain Millers and this writer. Representing

the C.I.O. were O. A. Knight, Daniel Benedict, Nicolas Zonarich and Ernst Schwarz. Paul K. Reed was the delegate of the United Mine Workers. From Canada came George P. Burt, Charles H. Millard and James Dowell for the Canadian Congress of Labor and Arthur Hemming for the Trades and Labor Congress. Brother Schnitzler acted as delegation chairman.

The convention opened on Wednesday morning, April 17, with a solemn ceremony attended by the President of the Republic, Jose Figueres; the Minister of Labor, Otto Fallas; members of the Cabinet and the Supreme Court; diplomatic representatives and members of Parliament. Hundreds of workers, including many barefooted peasant delegations, filled the orchestra of the large and artistically decorated Municipal Theater. Music was provided by members of the Musicians' Union.

Addresses of welcome were delivered by Eddy Alvarez, president of

the Costa Rican Confederation of Labor; Luis Alberto Colotuzzo, president of the ORIT; Hans Gottfurcht, assistant secretary-general of the



MR. ROMUALDI

I.C.F.T.U.; Minister of Labor Fallas and President Figueres, who extolled the contribution of the ORIT to the cause of inter-American democracy and the improvement of the working and living standards of millions of exploited wage-earners. President Figueres took the occasion to emphasize the need of further economic cooperation and assistance on the part of the United States to help stabilize the economy of the Latin American countries.

Greetings on behalf of the North American delegation were extended by William Schnitzler, who praised Costa Rica as "a bastion of freedom and democracy, where workers and peasants and citizen soldiers have shed blood, three times within the last seven years, in defense of their soil and in defense of their liberty."

REFERRING to the coming unity between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, Brother Schnitzler said:

"A united labor movement in North America will be able to make our cooperation with the labor movement of the rest of the hemisphere more effective and more fruitful. I am sure we can wage a more successful fight against the military dictatorships that unfortunately exist in many of our sister countries and will contribute to the establishment of a more advanced economic policy in which the government of the United States should play the role of pioneer and leader and should make available a greater share of our economic and financial resources.

"If we want to win the cold war in a way that will spell the conclusive defeat of communism, we need to show that democracy can assure—not only in rhetorical statements but in concrete deeds—a better material and spiritual life for the millions of people, now exploited, underfed, underclothed, without decent housing and deprived of the means of an adequate education.

"The democratic forces must succeed in this difficult but highly essential task, because only through total democratic victory will the maintenance of peace and freedom be forever assured throughout the world."

The ORIT convention conducted its sessions under the chairmanship of Luis Alberto Colotuzzo, assisted



A partial view of the convention at work. At the right are seen Mr. Schnitzler and Serafino Romualdi studying parley document

by three vice-presidents, one of them O. A. Knight, and a Steering Committee of which Brother Schnitzler was a member.

The Credentials Committee reported the presence of seventy-four official delegates representing twenty-five affiliated organizations from seventeen countries and thirteen fraternal delegates representing an equal number of organizations from seven countries. There were observers from the International Center of Free Trade Unions in Exile, from the International Federation of Oil Workers and the International Labor Organization. The latter was represented by William Rodgers, who addressed the convention.

Among the organizations which were represented for the first time by fraternal delegates were the Oil Workers Unions of Aruba and Curacao, the Banana Workers Unions of the Standard Fruit and United Fruit companies of Honduras, the Guatemalan Railway Union, the Independent Trade Union Federation and Labor Council, Nicaragua's Nationalist Confederation of Democratic Workers and the Transport Workers Union, and a number of organizations from Chile and Panama.

The highlight of the convention

was the address by Dr. Jorge Arenales, Guatemala's Minister of Economy and Labor, who pledged that the government of Castillo Armas would encourage the free organization of trade unions by Guatemalan workers. The government, he said, is opposed to government-controlled unions and has given recognition to every union that has complied with the law.

The Guatemalan Labor Minister admitted that mistakes had been made.

"We are responsible for our errors and do not seek to justify them," he said. "More fortunate countries, with a democratic history, are apt to judge Guatemala from their own standpoint and misjudge accordingly."

ORIT General Secretary Luis Alberto Monge, on behalf of the convention, responded to the address by the Guatemalan Labor Minister. Taking cognizance of the assurances given by Dr. Arenales, Brother Monge pledged that the ORIT will continue its efforts to help build a free, independent labor movement in Guatemala.

The work of the convention was divided among three major committees. One dealt with trade union matters, another handled economic and agri-

cultural problems, and the third, the Resolutions Committee, was occupied with political issues and the defense of free trade unionism.

The convention unanimously approved a report of the Resolutions Committee on the democratic labor movement and the dictatorships in Latin America. This report was a

lengthy document. After examining the causes which have made possible the strengthening of dictatorial regimes at the expense of democratic representative government and the freedom of trade union organization, the Resolutions Committee recommended and the convention unanimously approved:

►A campaign of solidarity with the democratic trade union movements in the countries oppressed by dictatorship, with the aim of guaranteeing the stability of the labor movement and the liberty and the life of its leaders and active members.

►Complete repudiation of all participation of Communist elements in this campaign.

►Support of the principles of democracy and freedom embodied in the Charter of the United Nations, the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights, the I.L.O. convention on freedom of association, and the Charter of the Organization of American States, with a request to all ORIT-affiliated organizations to demand from their respective governments effective observance of these principles in their relations with organized labor.

►Request the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions to bring charges, before the proper international agencies, against those governments that violate the aforementioned civil and labor rights.

►Continued opposition to any form of intervention on the part of the dictatorships in the internal affairs of other countries.

►Active advocacy of increasing autonomy for colonial possessions and non-self governing territories, toward the end that democratic and progres-



*In photo at left, ORIT President Gonzales Tellechea.
In other picture, from left, Gilberto Goliath of Cuba
and Mr. Schnitzler and Mr. Romualdi, U.S. delegates*

sive regimes may be there established.

►To support the position taken by the ORIT's affiliates in the United States in requesting their government to stop immediately the giving of economic, military and diplomatic assistance to Latin American dictators.

►To demand of foreign enterprises operating in Latin America that they observe a policy of absolute non-intervention and non-involvement in the internal affairs of the host countries.

►To recommend to the affiliated organizations and the labor movement in general that they act with speed and energy, even to the extent of using the boycott if necessary, when totalitarian governments attempt to destroy the freedom and independence of other countries.

The convention unanimously approved a number of other resolutions. These recommended boycott of the I.L.O. Petroleum Committee's meeting in Venezuela and demanded the release of labor and political prisoners in that country, urged President Odria of Peru to fulfill his promises to revoke the internal security law and permit the return of political and trade union exiles, and requested the President of Argentina to set free the workers, students, lawyers, politicians, priests and other citizens now held in the jails of that country.

Two A. F. of L.-C.I.O. resolutions, requesting for the ORIT the status of consultant before the Organization of American States and suggesting the calling of an Inter-American Economic Conference with represen-

tation from government, management and labor, were also approved. A resolution introduced by the United Mine Workers of America, asking the I.C.F.T.U. to improve the coordination of its work and that of the ORIT in Latin America, was likewise approved.

With the support of the delegates

from the Argentine and Venezuelan underground labor movements, the fraternal delegates representing the International Center of Free Trade Unions in Exile submitted three statements dealing with slave labor and the oppression of workers under Soviet regimes. The convention unanimously approved these statements and gave a standing ovation to Charles Peyer, Hungarian labor leader in exile, who addressed the convention on behalf of the group of Central European fraternal delegates.

The convention unanimously re-elected Luis Alberto Monge as general secretary of the organization and praised him for the work done since he took charge of the ORIT two years ago. As president of the organization, Ignazio Gonzales Tellechea of Cuba was elected in place of Luis Alberto Colotuzzo of Uruguay who, under the ORIT constitution, could not succeed himself.

A. F. of L. President George Meany was reelected as a member of ORIT's Executive Board. Others elected to the Board from North America were Walter Reuther for the C.I.O., Paul Reed for the United Mine Workers and Claude Jodoin for the Canadian affiliates. Alfonso Sanchez Madariaga of Mexico and Serafino Romualdi and Ernst Schwarz of the United States were reappointed as assistant secretaries. Arturo Jauregui Hurtado of Peru was added to the ORIT secretariat with the assignment of directing the Department of Organization and of substituting for Brother Monge during the latter's absence from headquarters.

ATTEND YOUR UNION MEETINGS

Making Friends Below the Rio Grande

THE A. F. of L.'s international representative, George P. Delaney, was a member of the U.S. delegation at the recent convention of the ORIT. During a short stopover in Washington before departing for Europe, Mr. Delaney was asked to give his impressions.

"The main achievement in my view, not only at the ORIT convention but in subsequent travels, was the very definite strengthening of the ties of friendship between the trade unionists of our own country and those of the Latin American nations," he declared. "Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler was most effective wherever he appeared. The trade unionists from the other countries of the Americas responded warmly to his friendly, forthright attitude and candid statements."

Discussing the ORIT conclave, Mr. Delaney said:

"We found at San Jose a most generous and friendly feeling toward the entire North American delegation. The friendliness of the people of Costa Rica and their country's adherence to the principles of freedom and democracy combined to provide a climate which made it possible for the delegates to adjust their views in an attitude of progressive unity."

The A. F. of L.'s international representative reported that widespread interest in the merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations "kept Secretary Schnitzler very much in demand." Questions pertaining to the merger were numerous. They were answered frankly.

Mr. Delaney reported that the representatives of the American Federation of Labor were received by Costa Rican President Jose Figueres. Señor Figueres spoke of the attitude of the United States toward Latin America. He expressed gratitude for the role of the A. F. of L. in contributing to the growth and strengthening of free and democratic unionism in Latin America. President Figueres said that there is a need for U.S. unions to continue their



William Schnitzler was the guest of honor at a luncheon given by Executive Board of Confederation of Mexican Workers (C.T.M.)

help in developing a better understanding between the people of our country and the peoples of Latin American nations.

Secretary Schnitzler assured President Figueres of the desire of the American Federation of Labor to cooperate with the peoples of Latin America in their efforts to achieve greater progress in the economic and social fields. He warmly commended President Figueres for his courageous stand against the military dictatorship in Venezuela and for his refusal to take part in the conference of the Organization of American States held last year at Caracas.

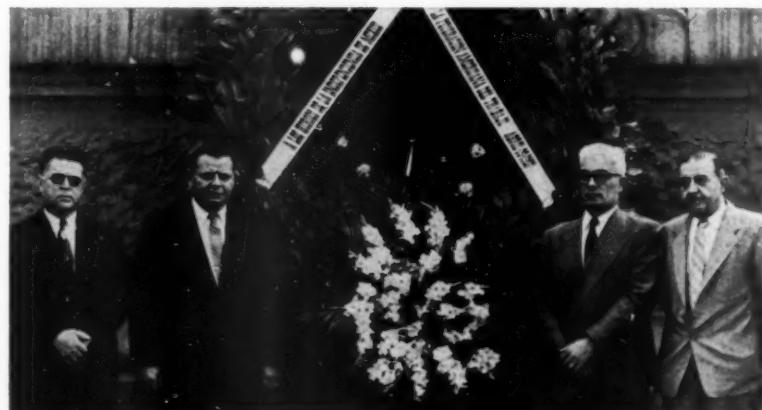
After the ORIT convention, the A. F. of L. group visited Mexico.

"We were received with the greatest cordiality and sincere friendship by President Fidel Velazquez of the Confederation of Mexican workers (C.T.M.) and his Executive Board,"

Mr. Delaney related. "This occasion marked the first time for some years when officials of the A. F. of L. and the Confederation of Mexican Workers had met to exchange views on mutual problems.

"Secretary Schnitzler addressed several luncheon meetings and trade union meetings, where he pledged the continuation of the U.S.-Mexico Joint Trade Union Committee dealing with the importation of Mexican farm labor into the United States. He also cited the building trades agreements, concluded by Mexican building trades workers and U.S. building trades workers along the border, and pacts of friendly collaboration between U.S. and Mexican unions in other industries.

"The visit to Mexico of Secretary Schnitzler and the A. F. of L. delegation has laid the groundwork for the strengthening of future collaboration of the A. F. of L. and the C.T.M."



A wreath honoring the memory of Mexico's heroes of independence was placed at base of statue in Mexico City by U.S. visitors

LABOR FERMENT IN JAPAN

By RICHARD DEVERAL

A. F. of L. Representative in Asia

IN a recent issue of THE AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST, I reported on the protracted strike of the Japan Steel Workers at Muroran. After 193 trying days, the Sohyo workers gave up the Muroran fight and agreed to a mediation program which they could have had six months earlier.

As was pointed out in the previous article, the struggle at Muroran was to Sohyo not a fight for higher wages or increased employment security but, as Sohyo said: "This struggle *** is a fight between the Japanese monopolies, which are watching for the revival of the munitions industry through rearmament of Japan by the United States, and all the workers of Japan."

The Muroran workers who accepted Sohyo leadership for the 193-day strike not only won nothing but ended up with each man liable for more than \$200 to Sohyo for funds advanced to the strikers. As the earnings of Japanese workers average \$60 a month, the loss is considerable.

As with an earlier Sohyo-led strike at Amagasaki, in which thousands of workers lost their jobs and the company went bankrupt, Sohyo's object at Muroran seemed to be not to win the strike but "to raise the political consciousness of the workers." One is reminded of David Shub's story in his book, "Lenin," where it is related that in 1905 Lenin was approached by a young revolutionary who doubted that an uprising would bring victory.

"Victory!" rasped Lenin. "What do we care for victory?"

The young revolutionary was astonished. Lenin then explained that it was not victory they wanted but uprisings—not to win but to "attract these masses to our cause."

Since 1952 Sohyo has lost strike after strike. Its coal strike of 1952 ended in failure. Its electrical power strike in the same year resulted in secession from Sohyo of more than one-half of the union involved in that fight. When the electrical power strike ended, the strikers won an in-

crease—hours went from thirty-eight to forty-two per week!

The 1954 Sohyo disasters at Amagasaki and Muroran were samples of the same disastrous policy of waging political struggles—not to win economic gains for the workers concerned but to set the stage for a revolutionary upsurge which, the leaders hoped, would bring them to political power in Japan.

Perhaps a revolution can be built this way, but evidence shows that trade unionism in Japan has been suffering gravely because of adventurist and anti-labor leadership.

These policies and this leadership forced the right-wing unions of Sohyo to revolt in 1954 and form the new trade union center, Zenro, now an *en bloc* affiliate of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. When Zenro was formed during April of 1954, it claimed 830,000 members. It has climbed since then to 860,000 and expects to go over the 1,000,000 mark before the end of summer.

A FEW weeks ago I interviewed two of the top leaders of Zenro, Mr. Minoru Takita, the chairman, and Mr. Haruo Wada, the secretary-general. Both pointed out that Zenro, during the first year of its life, won two historic strikes.

The first victory was in the protracted strike of the boys and girls employed by the Omi Silk Company. The Omi strike was a basic strike for the democratization of industry and human rights. It was the first strike in Japanese history for freedom of religion. After more than 100 days of struggle, Zenro won a brilliant victory. Subsequently the mighty Japan Seamen's Union went out on strike and won the best contract in Japanese labor history.

Minoru Takita is a quiet, dignified man in his early forties. He came to the presidency of the Japan Textile Workers Union from a textile mill. He is a trade unionist, not a politician. Unlike Sohyo politicians, Takita has no aim to be elected to the

Diet. He wants to dedicate his life to the organization of the unorganized workers of Japan.

Takita told me that Zenro, during 1955, hopes to bring under its banner many of the neutral and independent unions of Japan. Today these organizations have a membership of more than 1,000,000. The organizational pattern of Zenro has not yet been clarified, but the leaders are working on this. When accomplished, it is expected that affiliates from electrical power, automobile and other industries will become a part of the Zenro family.

Takita is outspoken in denouncing the policies of the Sohyo leadership. He told me that continued political strikes are leading to lowered confidence of the Sohyo rank and file in a leadership that can't win strikes. Further, Takita said, Sohyo is resorting to Youth Action Corps violence to continue strikes which are already hopeless. For, as with Lenin, the purpose is not victory but a raising of so-called "political consciousness."

"Sohyo has followed a pattern of Communist tactics," Takita charged. "Sohyo is using the Youth Action Corps to put more force into its strikes. But the record shows that Sohyo has yet to develop a strategy that wins strikes. That is the basic issue."

Takita pointed out that the non-governmental-union faction within Sohyo, although a minor element, is critical of Sohyo leadership. There are signs that this group's mounting criticism is leading to a confrontation between Sohyo's Minoru Takita and those within Sohyo who are critical of his policies.

On foreign policy Takita holds that the basic problem of relations between Japan and America is in the seeming desire of Washington to put the military problem before economic and social problems. The Americans must realize, he feels, that the economy of Japan, now shaky and unstable, must be enriched before

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there can be any rearmament. Taito told me that many Japanese workers believe President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles have no real interest in Japan except for arms and soldiers.

"The American policy can counter communism in Japan only by helping us to solve our underlying economic problem," the chairman of Zenro declared.

HARUO WADA is a ruddy-cheeked man of about 35. He is chief of organization of the Japan Seamen's Union and the secretary-general of Zenro. Wada is energetic and a fluent talker. He is hopeful for the future.

"Zenro has developed strike and struggle tactics that succeed," he told me. "We win our strikes."

Wada by no means underestimates the over-all strength of Sohyo. He believes, however, that the collapse of labor education in Sohyo unions and growing criticism by Sohyo's rank and file indicate that Sohyo's future is uncertain.

"One of the real achievements of the Omi Silk strike," Wada noted, "was the launching of a powerful labor education movement in the Textile Workers Union. This has served to consolidate the loyalty of the workers to their union and to Zenro."

The Seamen's Union, a prewar organization, leads Japan in labor education. Each year it holds the best labor colleges in the country.

Wada sees much evidence that Sohyo inclines toward the Communist-ruled group calling itself the World Federation of Trade Unions. Last year, he points out, Sohyo sent a delegation on tours of Red China and the Soviet Union and to visit the Communist unions of France and Italy.

Late last year the Yoshida government came to an end. I asked Wada about that development and the emergence of the Hatoyama cabinet.

"I expect that Mr. Hatoyama will be more friendly to bona fide trade unions than was Mr. Yoshida," he commented. "But it is a Conservative government and in time might become the same as the Yoshida regime."

"The Conservatives have no understanding of the labor movement,

and I fear they feel it is unnecessary."

"Does this mean that a conservative government might try to crush the labor movement, as the pre-1945 militarist government did?"

"Never happen," replied Wada with utter conviction. "For one, we are too strong. And then there is the reaction of the free world to be considered."

A little later he said:

"Sohyo is walking to the left while facing to the right."

Wada San, a leading friend of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in Japan, strongly emphasized that the Zenro unions want the A. F. of L. to continue its work in Japan in cooperation with the work of the I.C.F.T.U.

"There is a very strong anti-American movement in my country," Wada explained. "We feel that the work of the American Federation of Labor tends to curb this anti-American movement. The A. F. of L. must increase its work in improving relations between Japan and America. Many Japanese felt that the Yoshida government was a pawn of the American government. And with regard to the Garrison Force Labor Union (workers employed by the U.S. military and naval forces in Japan), their relations with the Americans remain very difficult."

"The A. F. of L. must insist that the Americans in Japan obey Japanese labor laws. There should be an A. F. of L. or C.I.O. man within the Army Staff of F.E.C. in Japan in order to iron out the difficulties which now exist."

With great feeling the Zenro leader spoke of the hydrogen bomb blast at Bikini a year ago. "This disaster adversely affected Japan-American relations," Wada said.

"The twenty-three victims were workers just as we are. The message of one American labor leader regretting the death of Seaman Kuboyama last September came far too late. We want to see American labor take positive steps in the development of a peaceful atom-

ic energy program and control of atom and hydrogen bombs."

I asked Wada about his advice to American labor in regard to the Okinawa problem.

"If the United States government is to continue friendly relations with Japan," said Zenro's secretary-general, "we think you should leave there as a friend and not wait so long that you are kicked out as an enemy."

He also said: "We think that the A. F. of L. should raise a cry and insist that the Soviet Union get out of the Habomai Islands, which the Russians today hold illegally. American labor should demand that the Russians evacuate the Kuriles and Karafuto."

Zenro is friendly to the United States but cannot be considered pro-American. Zenro is pro-Asian, pro-I.C.F.T.U. and pro-Japanese. Zenro will be friendly to America insofar as American labor demonstrates its friendship for the working people of Japan.

Sohyo holds that Communist China and the Soviet Union are "peace powers." According to Sohyo, the United States is a warmongering, militarist, fascist country. Sohyo is all for the All-China Federation of Trade Unions. Zenro has no illusions, says simply: "Workers in Red China have no right to strike."

In January of last year Ichiro Makayama, a distinguished scholar who heads the Central Labor Relations Committee of Japan, predicted that any labor leadership which ignored the realities of Japan's economy would be "beaten by the reality."

In 1955, one sees the great shift in the center of labor power in Japan. As things are now, Zenro is rising at the expense of Sohyo.

It Isn't News to Our Readers

THE daily newspapers have recently carried a number of items about the *pachinko* (pinball) craze in Japan. Most of the stories in the daily papers have intimated or stated flatly that what they were reporting is an exciting new development. But as long ago as January, 1953, the readers of THE AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST learned about *pachinko* in an article by Richard Deverall, our correspondent in Asia.

Labor NEWS BRIEFS

►Carpenters in the nation's capital, who had voted to strike if necessary to achieve increased wages, have won a new two-year contract under which their pay goes up 12½ cents an hour immediately and an additional 10 cents an hour one year from now. The new scale benefits 5,500 men.

►Grace Krueger, member of Local 52, Laundry Workers, has received the annual Friendship, Service and Humanity Award in Los Angeles. The presentation was made by Thomas Ranford, president of the Los Angeles Central Labor Council.

►The Laborers and Hod Carriers have chartered a local at Freshwater in Newfoundland. The new group, Local 340, takes in men who are employed by Ayers, Hagan and Booth, contractors, on U.S. defense construction which is under way in Argentia.

►Local 397 of the Iron Workers, Tampa, Fla., has obtained an hourly increase of 10 cents in a pact with the Florida West Coast chapter of the Associated General Contractors. The increase, retroactive to April 1, benefits 300 members.

►Local 107, Laundry Workers, has won health and welfare coverage in a new pact in the Portland, Ore., area. Two thousand wage-earners will receive life, accident, hospital, medical and disability coverage.

►The Brotherhood of Teamsters was chosen by employees of Golden Brothers, Reading, Pa., as their bargaining agent in a recent election. Local 429 expected contract talks with the employer to get under way promptly.

►The Operative Potters have signed a new agreement with the United States Potters Association covering workers in the general ware and chinaware branches of the industry. Wages are increased under the pact.

►The Pacific District of the Seafarers has won a resounding victory over the unaffiliated I.L.W.U. of Harry Bridges in an NLRB representation election. The vote was 3,931 to 1,064.

►A labor health center to provide clinical care for non-hospital cases involving union members and their families is being planned by the Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union. An all-day conference, attended by representatives of 100 local unions, examined what is being done in other cities and discussed what could be done in the nation's capital.

►Stanley F. Jonusas has been elected chairman for Labor's League for Political Education in Lake County, Ind. Other officers are John Malloy, assistant chairman, and Paul Tanner, secretary. Members of the Executive Board are Matt Vlarch, Frank Moon, Frank Clements, John Coleman, Fred Rumba and Richard Bolinger.

►Two new lodges of the American Federation of Government Employees have been formed in the Washington, D. C., area. The new lodges represent employees of the National Capital Housing Authority in Washington and employees of the Army at Cameron Station, Va.

►Seven A. F. of L. building trades in St. Paul, Minn., have signed a two-year contract with the Minnesota division of the Associated General Contractors. The new accord boosts wage scales. More than 8,000 members are affected.

►The Texas Association of Fire Fighters has obtained passage of its working hours law. The bill reduces from 84 to 72 hours the maximum work-week of firemen and policemen in cities of 10,000 to 40,000 population.

►Local 332 of the Teamsters, Local 2123 of the Carpenters and the Operating Engineers' local have signed first agreements with three major homebuilding firms in Flint, Mich. The pact will run until August, 1957.

►Local 375, Paper Workers, won recognition at the Burgess and Why Company, Philadelphia, after a strike.

►Local 42, Typographical Union, has achieved a 35-hour workweek in a pact with Minneapolis employers.

►A labor agreement covering employees in the closed-circuit television industry has been negotiated by the Theatrical Stage Employees and Theater Network Television, Inc. The accord covers all localities in the United States and Canada where T.N.T. operates.

►Federal Labor Union 24314, Terre Haute, Ind., has ratified a new agreement with Winslow Scales which raises wages and calls for improved hospitalization and welfare. The union was assisted by A. F. of L. Organizer Don Costello.

►The Western Conference of Teamsters has signed an area-wide pension plan covering 3,000 members of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters in Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana and Alaska. The Prudential Insurance Company is the carrier.

►Local 537, Teamsters, Denver, has won a cut in hours of work to forty per week. The reduction in hours is to take place by October. In its agreement with Denver dairies, the union has also won higher take-home pay.

►The first "short week" hotel contract in Arizona has been signed by Local 631, Hotel Employees, and the Adams Hotel Company of Phoenix. The pact will bring the 40-hour week to 150 members.

►J. Albert Woll, A. F. of L. general counsel, has been elected to the board of directors of the American Arbitration Association. Mr. Woll was elected at the organization's twenty-ninth annual meeting in New York.

►A wage increase has been obtained by Local 93, Laundry Workers, in a new long-term agreement with four Springfield, Mo., laundries. The higher wage will benefit 150 members of the union.

►Employes of the Vancouver Door Company, Montesano, Wash., have voted in favor of the Brotherhood of Carpenters by 3 to 1 in a National Labor Relations Board election.

Members of the Machinists employed in California plants of major aircraft companies are now working under contracts which will bring them a grand total of \$15,000,000 in raises as well as other benefits during 1955. The agreements cover more than 70,000 employees at Lockheed, Consolidated Vultee and Douglas.

The Ladies' Garment Workers have shortened the workweek and made other gains for employees of the Atlas Underwear Company's plants at Piqua, Ohio, and Richmond, Ind.

Local 112, A. F. of L. Auto Workers, in a new contract with the Ficks Reed Company, Cincinnati, has won a wage increase and increased insurance benefits.

Local 1217, Electrical Workers, has obtained pay increases for 150 members who are employed by radio and television stations in St. Louis.

Local 68, Paper Workers, has gained a wage increase for all hourly paid workers at the Inland Container Corporation, Macon, Ga.

The Electrical Workers won a representation election which was held recently at Thomas A. Edison Industries, Inc., West Orange, N. J.

Local 896, Plasterers and Cement Masons, has won a wage increase in a new accord with the Contractors Association in Lexington, Ky.

Local 49, Typographical Union, has negotiated a contract at Monitor Publications, Denver. The pact raises wages for the company's printers.

Increased wages have been won by Local 27, Firemen and Oilers, at the plant of the Carborundum Company in Falconer, Pa.

Local 81, Sheet Metal Workers, has signed a union agreement with the Branson Furnace and Appliance Company, St. Joseph, Mo.

Local 324, Plasterers and Cement Masons, has won a higher hourly rate at Calgary, Alberta, Canada.

Local 49 of the Building Service Employees has obtained higher wages in Portland, Ore.

A new Building Service Joint Council has been chartered in Illinois.

Agreements have been reached between Local 1564 of the Retail Clerks in New Mexico and food stores at Los Alamos, Santa Fe and Las Vegas. A wage increase and fringe benefits are provided. The establishments involved are Safeway, Paul's Market and Piggly-Wiggy at Santa Fe; Safeway, Batrite and Mesa Market at Los Alamos, and Safeway at Las Vegas.

Local 383, Laborers, and Local 83, Teamsters, have obtained higher wages at Builders Supply Company, Phoenix, Ariz., and Arizona Precast Concrete Company, Mesa, Ariz.

Higher wages and an improved vacation plan feature the accord between Local 938, A. F. of L. Auto Workers, and the Fruehauf Sales and Service Company, Fort Wayne, Ind.

Local 691, Iron Workers, has obtained a wage hike in a new contract with the Rock Island, Ill., Bridge and Iron Works. An improved vacation plan is also included.

A proposed \$2,000,000 auditorium in Denver has been voted the whole-hearted support of Local 20, American Federation of Musicians. Michael Muro, president of Local 20, says the new auditorium would be good for the community and would improve employment opportunities of Denver's 1,100 professional musicians.

Local 75, Tile Helpers, has won a wage boost in an accord negotiated with the Tile and Marble Dealers Association at Rochester, N. Y.

A charter was presented to Local 741 of the Teamsters in a colorful ceremony held at Seattle, Wash.

Local 517 of the Fire Fighters, River Rouge, Mich., has elected Jack Pacheco as president for this year. Ernest Solmose is vice-president.

Local 606, Meat Cutters, has boosted wages at the Safeway stores in El Paso, Texas. Other contract improvements have also been effected.

President Is 'Captive,' Sen. McNamara Says

BIG BUSINESS has "a captive President" in Dwight D. Eisenhower, the fourteenth annual meeting of the Eastern Labor Press Conference was told by Senator Patrick V. McNamara (*photo at right*). The press group met at the Willard Hotel in Washington. The lawmaker from Michigan, asserting that President Eisenhower is "a well-meaning man," said that at the same time he has a Cabinet whose most powerful figures, Secretary of the Treasury George Humphrey and Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks, speak for "the most reactionary elements" of the business world.

The labor editors' organization presented a certificate of distinguished service to the Rev. William Kelley of Catholic University. Father Kelley has written and spoken most effectively on the immorality of so-called "right to work" legislation. He is a former chairman of the New York State Labor Relations Board.

Leading a discussion on ways to achieve improved readability



Talks to labor editors

were James Marlow of the Associated Press and Gordon Cole, editor of the weekly newspaper published by the International Association of Machinists. The meeting was visited by Matthew Woll and J. Scott Milne. The two A. F. of L. vice-presidents greeted the editors.

Frank B. Powers was reelected as president and Garland A. Rurark won another term as secretary-treasurer. Mr. Cole and Elmer Reynolds, editor of the *Molders*' magazine, were chosen as new vice-presidents.

WHAT THEY SAY

Winston Churchill—The hydrogen bomb has made an astounding incursion into the structure of our lives and our thoughts. Its impact is prodigious and profound, but I do not agree with those who say, "Let us sweep away forth-

with all our existing defense services and concentrate our energy and resources on nuclear weapons and their immediate ancillaries." The policy of the deterrent cannot rest on nuclear weapons alone. We must, together with our NATO allies, maintain the defensive shield in Western Europe. Unless the NATO powers had effective forces there on the ground and could make a front, there would be nothing to prevent piecemeal advance and encroachment by the Communists in this time of so-called peace.

E. S. Miller, president, *Hotel and Restaurant Employes and Bartenders International Union* — In case there's any doubt in your mind about it, you should understand that the coming merger of the A. F. of L. with the C.I.O. is

bound to help our international union to meet its target of 500,000 members by 1957. I don't mean the merger is going to bring members into our union on a wholesale basis. I mean that the merger is bound to stimulate a wave of new organization. This is already making itself felt as local unions and unorganized hotel and restaurant employes sense the new spirit of growth beginning to surge through the labor movement. Thoughtful union members have been quietly encouraging these unity talks for years. In city after city, for many years, A. F. of L. and C.I.O. rank-and-filers have known that they had more in common to share than



they possessed of differences to keep them apart. There have been countless examples of working together. Picket lines have been respected more often than they've been crossed by rival unionists. There have been hundreds of instances of common support of candidates for public office and of common work to win labor laws—or to defeat anti-labor laws—in every state. The new federation will have as its first order of business a massive organizing program in which these deep roots of cooperation will bring forth real fruit to strengthen all organizations—including our own. One of the first fields of concentration will be the retail and service industries.

Joseph Lewis, president, *Stove Mounters International Union* — In

visiting our local unions from time to time and on my job of assigning officers to take care of various assignments requested by our local unions, I sometimes run across conditions that more or less take the joy out of life. In times like these, the officers of our international union, as well as all local unions, have many things to aggravate them. These aggravating daily incidents, however, do not give us license to be unkind or sarcastic to anybody. Whether we represent the international union or a local union, we should keep in mind that we do not own the union. We are only servants of the members who pay all the bills, including our salaries. We are glad to give good service to all of the members, not just some of them. If a member has a grievance, the officers of his union should hear him out. If the complaint is petty or of little merit, the member should be told so, but in kind and courteous language so he will not lose the respect he should have at all times for his union officers. The trade union movement should be the most human of all organizations because it deals exclusive-

ly with the problems of human beings who are trying to get the most out of life through their labor organizations. Sarcasm makes the man with a "beef" not only hate the officers treating him with unkindness but also makes him lukewarm toward the union itself. The most consoling thing in human life is encouragement when the going gets tough. That pat on the back reaches down to the very soul of the fellow who needs a friend. The member should never feel compelled to go meekly, with hat in hand, to a local union officer to explain his grievance. He should always be treated as an equal, a friend, a pal.

Robert Byron, president, *Sheet Metal Workers International Association* — Delegates from more than sixty countries are meeting, in the beautiful old city of Vienna, in the world congress of the International Confederation of Free



Trade Unions. The issues and topics which will come before the congress this year are many, but the basic aim of the trade unions of the world is very much the same—the preservation of human rights, human dignity and human freedom. And this means that working people the world over should be allowed to organize and better themselves in the way of wages, hours and conditions. The task of bettering the lot of the working people is a continuing one, and the big task falls in a large measure to the trade unions. Today the great challenge of unionism is finding its most spectacular manifestations in Asia, and we are likely in Vienna to get some reports from the Asian countries. We are likely to get some reverberating echoes from Bandung. The countries in that part of the world are feeling to a great degree the surges of nationalism. The age of colonialism is definitely over. It is interesting that some of the delegates at the Bandung parley spoke out boldly against Communist imperialism and colonialism. When the U.S. delegation participates in the proceedings in Vienna, it will leave its imprint on the congress.

LOOK FOR UNION LABELS

Graduation Daze

IN the life of a family, one graduation brings a great surge of excitement. When there are two graduations, the excitement and activity seem to be several times as great.

So it was with the Jessup family. Carol Jessup was to be graduated from senior high school in the evening and her brother Jerry was to be graduated from junior high school on the afternoon of the same day.

Mrs. Jessup and her next-door neighbor, Mrs. Collins, were taking a mid-morning coffee break on the porch of the Jessup home.

"Tess, it's worse than living on a roller-coaster around here," said Mrs. Jessup. "Both children are so excited and so involved in all the goings-on that Harry and I hardly know what's what."

Her neighbor laughed and took another sip of coffee.

"I can well imagine, Marian. Carol hasn't touched earth for weeks, has she?"

"I guess not. And Jerry is just as bad, only his mind is on all the competitions and contests. Carol is just in a general state of oblivion to everyday living." Mrs. Jessup smiled and sighed. "Oh, to be so young again!"

Suddenly Carol appeared.

"Carol!" said Mrs. Jessup, standing up. "Is anything wrong?"

"Wrong?" said Carol. "No, Mother. Everything is wonderful. I was excused so I could come home to get some stuff. Hello, Mrs. Collins. Mother, may I have some lunch, please? We have a rehearsal during the noon hour and I have to be back before that."

The girl dashed inside. As she reached the top of the stairs, she spoke again. "Mother, while you're at it, would you please make enough sandwiches for about five of us? We won't have time to get lunch."

"Let me help you, Marian," said Mrs. Collins.

The two women went into the kitchen and busied themselves. By the time Carol had gathered up the stuff she had come for—props for the school play as well as a costume—a fair-sized bag of sandwiches was ready for her.

"Ladies, I thank you," she said. And almost before her mother and Mrs. Collins realized it, the girl was out of sight.

"Let's finish our coffee, Tess."

Before the women had drained their cups, Jerry Jessup vaulted over the porch rail.

"What's for food?" he shouted.

"Jerry, don't you say hello?" his mother asked. "You're early."

"Hello. How are you? Say, Mom, I'm hungry, and I have to get back. I'm still trying out for the speech. Janet and I have to compete this afternoon, right in the auditorium. They'll decide today who gets to give the valedictory."

"Marian, I'll see you later," said Mrs. Collins to her friend with a smile. "Good luck, Jerry. I hope you get it."

"So do I," he said, grinning.

As his lunch was set before him, Jerry said:

"Mom, listen to my speech. I thought if I came home to eat you could hear me say it. That's why I didn't eat at school."

"Go ahead, Jerry."

The boy delivered his oration, ate his lunch and was on his way in what seemed to be less than five minutes.

The next few days passed quickly. There were dozens of things to do, clothes to be made ready, comings and goings, meals at all hours. And then graduation day dawned. At breakfast—the first in many days with all members of the family sitting down together—Mr. Jessup cleared his throat and said:

"After today I guess this family will get back to normal. How are

you, kids? You both look as though you're bearing up."

"I'm fine, Dad," answered Jerry, "but right now I wish I had let Janet win the competition for the valedictory. The way I feel right now, she can have it."

"Well," said Carol, "for my part, I wouldn't change places with anyone in the whole wide world."

"Sure," said her brother. "But your class play is over and you've collected all the glory. I still have to live through this afternoon."

"And I have to face tonight," Carol said. "Mother, my dress is a dream. I guess I'll get married in it, too."

The grownups gasped.

"Get married!" Mr. Jessup almost shouted in consternation.

"Oh, don't get excited, Daddy," said Carol. "Not now. I mean when I find someone I like well enough."

The tension relaxed. But the shock had brought home to Mr. and Mrs. Jessup that graduation is only the beginning, the commencement. After the youngsters had left the table, the grownups sipped their second cups of coffee.

"Well, Marian, we've come a long way since you and I got out of school. I remember I joined the union just two months after I asked you to marry me. You made me join, I recall. You said you wanted your husband to be a union man and have a good-paying job and some security."

"I remember. And it was good advice, if I do say so myself. And now we have Carol finishing high school and Jerry finishing junior high. That is, if we can just last through today. Two graduations are just about all I can take. But I agree with Carol. I wouldn't change places with anyone in the whole world."

"Nor would I," said her husband with a smile. "I like it this way."



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